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VII

INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY, AND CLAN

The Members of the Family

THE Orokaiva family is a well-defined group under the immediate authority of the father (*mama*). When (as in the usual instance) it is monogamous, its members live under one roof, and the father and mother clear and cultivate one area of ground, with what help their children may be fit to give them. The family group is therefore in large measure self-supporting and in its internal affairs may also be called independent. The father is master of his wife and children, and if he thinks fit may chastise them without interference from fellow villagers. This is natural enough, as the wife, under normal patrilocal conditions, is a stranger. An instance such as the following is not uncommon. A man named Tiembo set off to the garden accompanied by his wife, his two young daughters, and his dog. The dog set upon a neighbour's pig, and Tiembo, a fond parent but a very excitable man, set upon his wife and elder daughter and thrashed them for not minding the dog. The girl, in a mixture of anger, grief, and indignation (a peculiarly native frame of mind called *sisira*) absented herself from home for two days, and the wife in a huff delayed the cooking of her husband's dinner that evening. But all were very soon reconciled, and the villagers were no more than tickled by the whole affair. Such an instance shows that it behoves the father to practise restraint (which indeed he usually does), but it also illustrates his unquestioned authority over his own family. In this he is backed up by his clan, among whom the wife is virtually a stranger. Indeed, one may doubt whether the severest punishment inflicted upon the stranger woman would arouse anything more than passing disapproval in the clan and village of the husband. On one recent occasion a man of Deunia who had killed his wife in a fit of temper, fled for his life instead of surrendering himself to the village constable. He gave himself up at the first

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saying that he was wealthy. I do not know which of these attributes had the greatest influence in winning him eleven wives.

Normally marriage is patrilocal, though instances to the contrary are not infrequent. Nor is it unusual for a man to spend long periods in the village of his wife, for, as we have found, there is usually a close intimacy between the two sides of the united family. It is said that a kindly husband will make allowance for his wife's homesickness. But in cases of what seems more or less permanent matrilocal marriage, the offspring still belong emphatically to the father's clan.

The evidence regarding exogamy is not entirely consistent. Some witnesses have said it is not permissible for a man to marry a woman of his own clan. For this two arguments have been put forward, but neither throws much light on the matter. If a girl married a man of her own clan, where, it was asked, would the pay or bride-price come from? On another occasion a witness said that if a man and wife of the same clan happened to quarrel they would both find themselves calling the name of the same *heratu* or plant emblem; and the neighbours overhearing would shake their heads or turn up their noses at the idea of marriage between two of the same clan. Other informants have expressed repugnance at the suggestion of marriage with a *du* or 'sister', so that it would appear that in general theory at least the clan should be exogamous. As for the village group (in which there may be several clans), it cannot be called exogamous even in theory. It has been stated, on the contrary, that in a village where there happens to be a number of attractive girls it is a wise thing for the young men of that village to marry them and keep them at home. And this precept was made applicable to the clan itself by some informants; for the rule of clan exogamy was actually in some cases denied.

When we consult the facts we find that marriage is usually outside the clan, but that the exceptions are numerous enough to prove that clan exogamy is not a hard and fast rule. It also appears that marriage is usually outside the